/390 cont./

125 434 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 434 462 [536] [565] But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 434 592 [104] [594] Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

668 very ill-defined. But with the necessity of finding a new
[665] political system appropriate to the African situation there evolved, particularly in Senegal, a fairly coherent doctrine which will be examined in the final chapter.

In the early days a number of assertions were made about the political genius of the African, none of which can be attributed to any one man though as far as Senegal has been concerned Senghor has been the chief theoretician. Whilst appreciating and accepting many of Marx's theories as both politically and economically valid for Africa he believed that Marx would have revised his system in face of African realities as well as the scientific achievements of the twentieth century. He advocated the adoption of Marxism, shorn of its anti-religious doctrine and adapted to African needs. A cardinal point as far as Senghor was concerned, was that African society could not fit into the classical Marxist analysis. Instead he maintained modern African society
[565] had three classes: first the liberal professions and trades; second the salaried employees, civil servants and workers; third the vast peasant mass. Under the colonial regime the former two classes had been able to achieve incomes out of all proportion to the average peasant income of fourteen pounds a year. This peasant class is Marx's proletariat.

To support his policital views, Senghor advanced his theory that the 'Negro-African' was essentially different from the European. 'The African Negro does not distinguish the object nor does he analyse it—he takes it as it is between his hands, he feels it, touches it, smells it; thus the subject and the object are dialectically confronted in the very act of perception, and hence participation and communion.' Others, in their suggestions for a modern African political system showed how they could look to their own (somewhat idealised) African past for guidance. For instance there was no real need for opposition in the European sense. African politics in the village would supply the model. There everyone sat in the palaver house until all were agreed on the formula of action. Once discussed openly

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

the rest animists. Of course this includes the exclusively Muslim Mandingo inhabitants of the Casamance who have been largely responsible for this proselytisation. The Diola too is inclined more and more to imitate his Mandingo and Wolof neighbours. L. V. Thomas, who has written a monumental study on the Diola, fears: 'Soon the Diola country may be, at least in its landscape, like Senegal if no power intervenes to limit the extension of the bushfire; it will certainly become, in its people, just another African country, where only a few anthropological remains fixed by heredity will enable us to distinguish the Diola from the Wolof or the Mandingo.'

The Casamance may well be coming closer to the rest of the Senegal, but it still remains a seat of opposition to the Government of Senghor and Dia, and votes heavily for the opposition *P.R.A.-Sénégal*. However neither of the leaders of this party, Ly Abdoulaye or Assane Seck, is *Casamançais*, and there is strong support in many towns for the *U.P.S.*, which indicates that Diola-Casamance politics are not necessarily either regional or tribal, though these are important factors.

The main social problem of the Senegal, and one which both assimilation and religion seem to have been unable to break down, is that of caste or a class structure very similar to caste. All the main Senegalese tribes—the Wolof, Lebou, Toucouleur, Serer—are divided into a series of endogamous castes. These castes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but roughly they are divided thus:

Nobles and Freeborn
Artisans (jewellers, smiths, weavers, leatherworkers)
Griots or minstrels
Liberated slaves
Slaves

(Of course domestic slaves no longer exist as such in Senegal, but families know who their slaves were.)

It is certainly easier in Senegal for a Toucouleur noble to marry a Wolof noble than to marry a woman of inferior

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

caste from his own tribe. The extent to which caste matters is brought out by the case of a young Catholic girl from a devout family who, rather than marry a fellow Catholic out of caste, in the end became the polygamous wife of a Muslim of the same caste. Within any ethnic group in Senegal marriage out of caste is extremely rare.

The caste system is not vicious in any real sense. For the privileges of a high caste entail many obligations. Thus a noble Wolof family will be obliged to feed and pay frequent sums of money to its family griots (minstrels, praise-singers and family historians) and if they fail to do this the griot is able to shame them publicly as a poor or mean family, something a Wolof would avoid at all costs. Likewise the artisan castes have a monopoly in their respective trades, since it would be impossible for a noble or free man to undertake the work of a jeweller or smith. Nevertheless in Senegalese society the term 'bijoutier' or 'tisserand' has slight contempt attached to it. The only caste to suffer socially in any way is of course that designated slave, because of the implications of such a status. In social investigations amongst the factory workers of Dakar, M. André Hauser found very few indeed who would admit to being of slave caste.

At present it is certainly a disadvantage to belong to any of the inferior castes, and though one hears of a few cases of open clashes between castes, in the present state of affairs it is certain that a number of young men resent this classification of people into superior and inferior groups and it is very much less important to them than to the older generation.

Early in 1961 *Agence Presse Sénégalaise* reported 'bloody clashes between griots and non-griots at Diack'. These ended with several dead and a number of wounded and started as a result of the refusal of non-griots to accept the burial of griots in their burial ground. The Minister of the Interior himself went to settle the dispute and gathered the whole population to tell them that his Government gave

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

equal status to all Senegalese and wanted to make everyone true Senegalese citizens whether they were griots, leather-workers or jewellers. Afterwards the non-griots agreed that the griots who had just died should be buried 'in the same way as anyone else, and as a beginning they agreed to let the burial of the victim of the incident take place, not in the traditional baobab but in Diack earth.'

In the Government today there are, amongst those members belonging to tribes with a class system only two of inferior caste, one being a 'bijoutier' and one a griot. It is said of another that he is of slave origin, but this is not certain because politicians often try to attribute inferior caste to their opponents. In the Assembly, of the members with caste all are noble or freeborn with the exception of one 'bijoutier', and one griot. It is thus at present difficult to get on in politics unless one is noble or freeborn. Indeed chiefly connexion is important, even though chiefs are no longer of significance administratively. Thus in 1957 Kenneth Robinson wrote:

> Membership of chiefly families is, nevertheless, an important source not only of prestige but of political interest. In many interviews with political leaders in the smaller townships and villages they almost invariably defined their own position, and that of their fellows, in part by reference to their relationship with the ruling families, or with the indigenous caste system.

Mr. William Foltz, who is making a detailed survey of Senegalese politics, has however observed that the local party groups in the country are increasingly representative of the inferior castes and many of the important backroom boys are of inferior caste, which suggests that there may be a change from the present situation at the next elections. But so far, as Mercier has observed, it does not look as though high standing in the modern context can yet completely redeem traditional inferiority.

The caste system in Senegal is one of the most delicate problems confronting the Senegalese Government today.

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

565 [563] Influenced heavily by the Revolutionary doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity, and having broken down barriers to this at the inter-ethnic level, the Government finds it most difficult to break it down at the level of the caste. Significantly, it was the Minister of the Interior himself who laid down government attitudes to caste at the troubles at Diack and one must hope that such trouble will soon disappear.

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

colour, flopped on the floor like lumps of spittle. Others, like them, were being cured in evil vats or stripped in heavy mangles. I examined one of the skins stretched out on the floor. The Czech pointed to three large holes in its surface.

'They are not good, these skins. Very stiff. They come from the North Senegal and the Fula herdsmen will not learn that the cow must be looked after if you want to make good shoes from it. They are only good for cheap shoes. We have to get the better models from our European factories.'

We emerged from the foetid gloom of the curing section into the dyeing room, full of sheets of leather, which an African was busy spraying scarlet, yellow, grey or blue. Another was trimming the coloured hides before they were sent to dry.

We followed our guide into a long hall, which reverberated to the rat-ti-tat of a hundred sewing machines, manned exclusively by Africans.

'Are most of your employees Africans?' I asked.

'On this work, yes. But not in the executive. And on some of the more skilled jobs we have to have Europeans.'

'Are they good workers?'

'Very good, though they cannot tackle the more difficult jobs. I believe they are better farther down the Coast. But we have nothing to complain about.'

And from the rate those shoes were coming off the production line, I was sure they hadn't.

'How many shoes do you produce a year?'

'About 300,000. Most of them are sandals,' he said, pointing to some scarlet slippers which an African was packing into boxes. 'These we also produce in great quantities.'

He showed me a pink, green and sky blue slipper with a large plastic pompom where the big toe would be. These were wildly popular with the fashion-mad Jollof women at the time. Bata's are very much at the mercy of their whims, though they have the consolation that supply rarely exceeds demand.

As I watched one African youth deftly turning a leather sandal on a stitching machine, I could not help thinking of the old Mandinka leather-worker in Dakar's market, laboriously sewing tough slippers as his father had done before him and as he was bound to do by virtue of his caste. Once he exercised a monopoly

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

for no-one would undertake his work unless he belonged to that caste. But the laws of supply and demand do not respect hereditary caste-rights. Mass production and cheaper shoes dictate the old leather-worker's redundance. Soon he will fade into the obscurity of a rural industry, a supplier of goods for the local arts and crafts store.

This was nowhere more evident than in Dakar which has a large number of factories. Here one can see the new Africa rising up. The young negro comes from the bush, illiterate and half naked, living much as his ancestors before him. Soon he is caught up in the revolution. At first his house may be a small wooden shed, shared with members of his family or tribe on whom he is sponging. But soon he may earn thirteen pounds a month as an unskilled labourer, so that he can afford to take rooms with one of his richer brothers, whose weekly pay packet as a cook is six pounds. And so in Dakar people of all tribes meet in the great metropolis, live next to each other in the crowded Medina, and help to create a new town-life as different from that of the bush as city life in nineteenth-century industrial England was from that of the countryside.

In Dakar I met Diop, a young Jollof, well-educated, but out of work. I asked him how he lived and he told me that he just went from relation to relation each day borrowing money. He had had a job before, but after a quarrel with his employer, an African lawyer, he had had to leave. Each morning he left his wife, pretending to go to work. He deceived her into thinking he still had his job, by bringing home money lent him by relations. He 'borrowed' the equivalent of ten shillings from me, and to my astonishment promptly asked me to lunch the next day. His house, or rather room, was made of wood. Inside, the walls and the floor were covered with a gaily patterned lino. A large double bed and a small divan provided seats. A chest of drawers hung with all the crockery was the only other piece of furniture. On the walls was a large array of photos of friends and relations, all slightly over-exposed to give the effect of a lighter skin. Diop's wife, a ravishing, beautiful girl of nineteen, had spent all morning preparing Jollof rice for us, consisting of rice done in a sort of tomato purée, to which a delicious white fish with a variety of vegetables and a hot pepper sauce were added. A bottle of wine was produced for me.

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125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].
[43] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did
[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-
[124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukulor], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,
[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for
[197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language,
[36] Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

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Table I. Division of the population of the Senegalese Fouta according to ethnic groups.

Ethnic Group	Actual Number	Percentage
Toucouleur	187,000	54.8
Wolof	36,000	10.6
Saracolé	13,000	3.8
Peul	47,000	13.8
Moor	56,000	16.4
Miscellaneous	2,000	0.6
Total	341,000	100.0

587 563 The ethnic groups are relatively endogamous, because marriages between persons of different ethnic groups are very rare, except perhaps, as we have seen, between Toucouleur and Peul (Foulbé walo). The Toucouleur /669/ are the only group entirely 563 within the Fouta, aside from some fractions that emigrated in the [166] course of religious crusades into Macina, Boundou, and elsewhere.

Each of the other ethnic groups is merely an extension into the valley of a group whose bulk occupies the neighboring regions, the Wolof in the northern part of Senegal, the Saracolé in western Sudan, the Peul near the Ferlo and the Assaba. But each of these ethnic groups is itself divided into several populations: the castes.

● 565 [582] Castes and social conditions. The castes, in reality, present a matrimonial barrier more difficult to overcome than that of ethnic affiliation. The term "caste" is used here in the general sense of social class, exclusive in nature, and not in the sense [564] that is given it in the valley where the term is reserved for artisan castes.

[567] Social conditions first of all distinguish the captives from [422] the free men. The captives are regarded as the personal property

S /669 cont./ 1
567 of the masters and are married by them. They have no property
565 rights nor a voice in the village councils, being constrained to
422 menial work. This condition cannot be compared to that of the
421 slave of the two Americas in former times; it is more reminiscent
623 of that of bondage in the Europe of the Middle Ages. Before the legal suppression of this custom a certain number of captives had already been freed, but the prejudice against these people remains, and they constitute, in fact, the inferior caste in the social hierarchy.

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564 It is the hereditary work of the artisans that, properly speak-
463 ing, distinguishes the men of the castes from the others: work in wood, leather, metal, and cotton thread. This distinction is transmitted from father to son, whatever calling is actually practiced. A captive may practice weaving, but he will never belong to the caste of weavers; conversely, a man belonging to the caste of jewelers may be a doctor of medicine and practice the profession of medicine.

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582 Marriage most clearly distinguishes the social barriers which
565 the child inherits from its father. Although there is no rigid interdict, there is such ostracism that it is practically impossible for a man to marry a woman of an inferior caste without risking loss of status and being banned from society. There is one exception:
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567 it may happen that a master marries his captive in order to have children who are free; the mother will be set free by this act, but if the union is sterile the woman remains in the condition of servitude.

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565 The system of castes is still very much alive, especially among the Toucouleur, and actually divides the ethnic group into partial populations, which, however, are less numerous than in India.

The functional nature of the castes has brought about in the course of their history the appearance of a hierarchy. Among the Toucouleur there are first the free men (rimbé), not belonging to the trade castes, and among /670/ whom, at the head, are the torobé (singular, torodo). Originally, in the Fouta Toro, this word in Arabic designated a scholar, a propagator of Islam. It

1 [i.e., the captives -- Analyst]

S /670 cont./
565 has been the dominant class since the Islamic revolution. In former times many strangers from neighboring countries would come to follow the teachings of the marabouts, to settle around them, and, thanks above all to Islam, to join this caste, which at present seems more closed and now tends to be less heterogeneous.

The social stratum which comes next is that of the tiédo and the thioubalo. It is believed that their ancestors were the first occupants of the soil, and they have preserved their traditions, the tiédo as farmer and the thioubalo as fisherman. The caste of fishermen is quite closed and has its own hierarchy with its captives, its free men, and its dynasty.

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582 The tiédo caste sometimes intermarried with the fishermen
565 and the torobé. Also free, but of an inferior social rank, are the trade castes. The general name for them, "gnégno," indicates a relationship of dependence vis-à-vis the above castes. Wood-cutters (labo), blacksmiths (baño), shoemakers (saké), and weavers (mabo) in principle intermarry indiscriminately. In contrast, the griots (gaoulo), who specialize in the singing of praises, marry only among themselves and sometimes with the blacksmiths.

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565 Finally, at the bottom of the social hierarchy is the group
567 of captives and former captives. There is a distinction between the freed (gallounké) and the captive (mathioudo), but they are in fact united by the same prejudice which the other castes have with regard to them.

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565 The social structure of the other ethnic groups is of the same type as that of the Toucouleur, with the exception of a few details; for instance, the diawando was originally the attendant or the courtier of the large Peul families and seems to form a differentiated caste at present. The caste of fishermen does not exist among

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[565] the Peul, for they do not fish, or among the Wolof all of whom
[606] can engage in fishing.

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582 If we limit ourselves to the Toucouleur group, the only
143 one for which we know the actual number in the valley, we shall be able to estimate the numerical importance of the various endogamous groups and consequently the number of women with whom marriage is possible (Table II). For certain castes, few in number, such as those of the artisans, the results of the sampling,

S T 582 143 /670 cont./ however, permit only an approximation.

Be that as it may, an examination of the figures of Table II shows some very important numerical differences between one group and another, since for each of the 11 groups, the actual number varies from 1,100 individuals to 84,200, and that of the women from 15 to 45 years of age from 250 to 18,700. This fragmentation of the population into isolates by S T [565] the system of castes is particularly noticeable on the artisan level where the average actual number does not exceed 2,000 persons. By this mechanism a high degree of endogamy is maintained, which determines some important phenomena. It is easily seen, for example, that the phenomena /671/ /Table II appears here/ of genetic drift (1) have acted in the course of time

> 1. Genetic drift: in the case of a population of limited number the frequency of a given gene may drift randomly, in the course of generations, within the range of possible values, contrary to that which occurs in panmixia, where this frequency remains constant (N.D.L.R.).

so as to promote the disappearance or, on the contrary, the appearance of certain morphological characters and their retention in these partial populations.

S 582 143 Proximity of residence. The conditions noted above are aggravated by the fact that the Toucouleur country stretches in a strip of land of about 300 kilometers; such a great distance greatly decreases the chances of marriage between individuals from distant residences, and the figures we have just given are therefore reduced to those of surrounding villages.

S [565] This is perhaps in part the reason for the regrouping in certain regions of a less numerous endogamous group such as that of the griots.

S [565] As in all countries, distance actually plays an important part in the possibilities for marriage. We shall not study this phenomenon here, for within a given caste the radius of marriage

[Text continues on P. 11--Analyst]

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Table II. Actual number of the endogamous Toucouleur groups, with, for each one, their percentage in relation to the total population, and the number of women from 15 to 45 years of age

Caste	Actual Number	%		Number of women from 15 to 45 years of age	
Torodo	84,200	45.0	74.0	18,700	
Tiédo	13,700	10.0		7,150	
Thioubalo	32,200	17.2		4,150	
Diawando	3,400	1.8			
Labo	2,100	1.1	4.5	450	1,850
Saké	1,100	0.6		250	
Mabo	2,300	1.2		500	
Baïlo	2,200	1.6		650	
Gaoulo	2,100	1.1	1.1	450	1,100
Gallounké	5,800	3.2	20.4	1,300	8,450
Matioudo	32,200	17.2		7,150	
Total	187,000	100.0		41,900	

S /671 cont./

582 143 [565] does not actually express the probability of a union between two individuals of a given domicile, since this schema is distorted by preferential marriages. Nevertheless, in a rural environment, the census according to place of birth shows that 84.2% of the women from /672/ /Table III appears here/ 15 to 45 years of age, most of whom were married, were born in the village of their residence. The men, therefore, in the majority, marry women from their own village.

Preferential marriages. To the probability of unions between individuals of a close degree of kinship in the groups already restricted is added the preference for these same marriages, which extends the endogamic system of castes. But if the ethnic group and the caste determine a negative choice, certain variables bring about on the contrary, a positive choice, chief of which is the customary preference for unions between close relatives, in particular between first cousins. The inquiry showed that in the whole of the zone studied (Haratin Moors not included) the proportion of marriages of the fourth, fifth, and sixth degrees rises to almost 28% of the total. The figure varies according to the ethnic groups, as is indicated in Table III.

W [582] The percentage of marriages between first cousins (fourth degree) in fact extends from 10.1 among the Wolof to 16.8 among the Saracolé; between cousins of an uneven degree (fifth W [582] degree) the percentage goes from 2.2 among the Saracolé to 7.1 among the Wolof, and between first cousins (sixth degree) from T [582] 10.5 among the Toucouleur to 14.5 among the Peul. Among the Toucouleur and the Peul there are practically as many marriages between first cousins as between second cousins: 10.4% as against 10.5% in the one case, 14.5% and 14.5% in the other. W [582] Only the Wolof have more marriages between second cousins, 13% as against 10.1%. Among the Saracolé, the more numerous unions between first cousins (16.8%) than between second cousins (10.9%) S T confirm what is known about family cohesion in this group.

582 143 565 Within each ethnic group the frequency of consanguineous marriages varies more noticeably according to the castes. In Table IV we have assembled the absolute numbers of consanguineous

[Text continues middle of P. 12 -- Analyst]

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Table III. Percentage of consanguineous marriages according to the degree of kinship in the different ethnic groups in the valley of the Senegal. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Ethnic Group	Number of women interrogated	% of consanguineous marriages according to degree of kinship			Total	Mean Coefficient of consanguinity $F \times 10^3$
		4th D	5th D	6th D		
Toucouleur	3,865	10.4	4.2	10.5	25.1	7.6
Peul	1,135	14.5	6.8	14.5	35.9	12.2
Wolof	731	10.1	7.1	13.0	30.2	9.5
Saracolé	270	16.8	2.2	10.9	29.9	12.7
Total	6,208	11.3	5.0	11.3	27.6	8.7

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marriages and their percentages in the four principal castes of the Toucouleur. The percentage of these marriages /673/ /Table IV appears here/ varies from 10.7 among the captives to 44.4 among the artisans; the figure increases among the fishermen to 32.2 and to 35.6 among the Torobé. The relatively weak proportion observed among the captives (10.7%) is due to the fact that the latter came from different regions, according to the accident of wars, but it shows that they have nevertheless adopted the custom of their masters.

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The customary nature of these marriages is shown by the fact that certain types of unions between cousins are preferred to others. The number of marriages of the fourth degree, the type of which we have noted, although small (47), nevertheless tends to confirm the preference for marriages with the daughter of either

[Text continues middle of p.13--Analyst]

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Table IV. Absolute numbers of consanguineous marriages and their percentage in the principal Toucouleur castes. Value of the mean coefficient of consanguinity

Caste	Number of couples interrogated	Consanguineous Marriages 4th D Nos.	5th D Nos.	6th D Nos.	Total Nos.	Total %	Coefficient of cansanguinity F X 10^3
Torobé	101	15	6	14	35	35.6	10.9
Fisher-men	56	8	4	6	18	32.2	8.2
Artisans	27	7	1	4	12	44.4	13.6
Captives	93	6	0	4	10	10.7	4.2

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the mother's brother (19) or the father's brother (15), rather than the daughter of the mother's sister (8) or of the father's sister (4). These consanguineous marriages represent the most strict form of endogamy. The others reflect the same tendency, but are practiced in a larger framework, lineage, clan, the extent of which we have not been able to evaluate. There are also traditional unions between two or more families, which perpetuate themselves from generation to generation.

Actual endogamy. The results observed in the valley of the Senegal cannot be extended to the Sahelo-Sudan region and still less to the western part of Africa. From analogous studies now in progress, we shall soon know whether the situation is comparable in the other regions of the Senegal and the Sudan.

In the valley the frequency of marriages of the fourth to the sixth degree inclusive ranks among the highest yet observed anywhere in the world. Freire-Maia in 1957 [10] collected data on this point, followed by Serra and Soini in 1959 [11] in this same journal. The measure which gives the best

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462 work are divided into very different groups: here is the
463 distribution of female occupations by percentages:
162 /178/ Hairdressers (occupation often held by the griotes)...4.5
Silent partners of weavers 2.2
Dyers 3.7
Saleswomen in markets or stalls 15.5
Cleaning women, laundresses 4.5
Laborer 0.8
Others 68.8
S Total 100

305 Hairdressing is more an ordinary service than remunera-
● 565 tive work; it is most often done by the caste women, griotes
463 or jewelers, in exchange for money or for presents which they receive from "free" or "noble" families -- the Wolof term is "guer" -- for whom they are the appointed griotes. It is not unusual, along one of the sandy streets in the shade of a wall, to come across a group of women, one of whom will be braiding the hair of another stretched out flat on her stomach, her head on the knees of her hairdresser.

S 462 Equally traditional are the occupations of dyer or silent
463 partner of a weaver. At the extreme opposite is the laborer
SR of the CAFAL who works daily at fixed hours for a definite
[462] salary. There are only a few of them in our sample, all of whom are Sérère. The women who do housework or who are laundresses must likewise be classed under this rubric of modern work. The way they use their time is indeed much less whimsical than in the case of the first categories. Between the two one must place the most important occupation,
S that of saleswoman. And here it is again necessary to dis-
[443] tinguish several categories of saleswomen: those who keep a shop or a stall by the side of their houses, those who go to sell at the market of Pikine, and finally those who every day go from Pikine to Dakar to sell their vegetables and their produce
S W SR at Kermel or at Sandaga.

462 On the other hand, the positive replies are too numerous
162 to be profitably discussed by ethnic groups and thus to separate out the principal ethnic behaviors. At best it is possible that

[10 cont.]

369 533 The griots, those "vipers' tongues," have put together new songs in order to make up for the loss of the spoils of war never to be hoped for again. Without exaggeration or error, one [583] can assert that the very high cost of the marriage expenses is due only to the griots, who, using their malevolent genius, contrast in their chants the generosity of such and such a man with the parsimony of the other, spicing all the praises with references to his always legendary and generous ancestors.

369 583 To dazzle the girl and her relatives with his generosity and his wealth, to wrest from the rivals acknowledgment of their poverty, to overwhelm with goods persons of inferior castes whose praises will never cease, to enrich the prestige and the dignity of his parents-in-law -- there is the origin of the enormous expenses which must be faced by those who marry in Saint-Louis.

The phases of Marriage and their cost

369 565 582 [584] This is not the place to show what role the girl plays in the act which is going to decide her life. Nevertheless, let us be permitted to affirm that today some freedom is permitted the girl in choosing a spouse, always with the condition that her choice must be a man of her rank. Native society is, in effect, compartmented, and the smith, the jeweler, the cobbler, the griot never becomes attached to a guer (2) woman with the

2. All the persons who do not belong to an inferior caste -- griot, cobbler, etc. Not to be confused with gor, free man, who is not a slave or a freed man.

permission of his parents. Conversely, the guer must remain in his domain, and the custom which formerly authorized the [631] chiefs to contract marriages with caste women, always under the pretense of conquest in battle, is tending to disappear.

[12 cont.]

369 583 291 435 12 silk headkerchiefs (6 obligatory, valued at 500 to 600 francs each;
12 kerchiefs with "edging" [mouchoirs de "bord"] (6 obligatory, valued at 300 to 375 francs each);
2 silk handkerchiefs;
4 Mauritanian mats, on which the objects are detailed, valued at 500 francs each, and most of all rare, which costs dearly.

369 685 c) Basket of Small Goods. This is a creation of the well-bred man of Saint-Louis, who during the 3 or 8 or 15 days that the nuptials last wishes the guests to be treated well. The young people of both sexes are supposed to crowd into the spacious rooms, suitably decorated and illuminated, and to be "overwhelmed" by the songs of the griots. The husband considers their rejoicings an imperious duty and offers them a basket generally containing several packs of cards, packages of toothpicks, perfume, razor blades, pipes, tobacco, incense, kohéal, fans, tidbits, etc.

369 585 565 d) The Gifts. These expenses are the final obligations and bear the name of "decorations of castes." As we have noted, since the first visit of the husband, the persons of caste have not officially benefited further from his generosity or from that of his wife. But custom requires that these people be gratified. It should be noted also that the guers have their men of caste who are faithful to them from father to son. In their presence and when they are equal to their task. Whatever their fortune or rank (in the Europeanized society), a guer cannot address any other persons of caste without their permission. Only one coiffeuse arranges the hair of a young girl until her marriage, and one jeweler repairs or makes her finery. The marriage is the ceremony of their dedication and the occasion of proving to them that they have not placed their confidence in vain. These persons comprise two categories: that of the woman and that of the man. Let us note at once that the latter cannot be too demanding without showing a lack of the proper attitude. They form part of the general staff of the husband, and, under penalty

[596] [302] [306]

[12 cont.]

369 of humiliation, they must, as must he, show proof of generosity.
585 How does one go about "decorating these persons"?
565 There are the griots, the jewelers, the cobblers, and also ... the captives; the husband gives 1,000 francs or more to each grouping, and his relatives a supplementary sum, always distinct from that given by the husband, of such a nature that each caste receives 10,000 or 20,000 francs or more. This sum will be divided under the direction of the caste head.

585 This ceremony concludes the marriage, because im-
369 mediately, for three streets around, there is nothing but hysteria and hubbub, with griots coming and going, as well as drivers (3).

3. We have not said anything about the expense for the food. Each morning during the whole period of the nuptials, the husband must give a sum large enough to provide food for all of his guests and those of the wife. It is obligatory for the parents of the wife to send supper to the mother of the husband on the first day. I have seen a case that merits being noted. On the occasion of a recent marriage, the parents-in-law sent from Saint-Louis to Louga a wagon of food, 25 large basins, "tolis," containing 25 foods estimated in 1939 at 4,000 francs, deducted from the meals of the mother, which were, it was said, transported by five or six carts.

Consequences of the high price of marriage on the manners and customs

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584 Such expenses greatly hinder young people from marrying.
581 Most of them, if they do not wish to remain single, are obliged to leave their city to contract bush marriages, which are almost

15: Mauny--3 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37

/73 cont./

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Ouest sénégalais /Prehistory and Protohistory of the Peninsula of Cape Verde and the Extreme West of Senegal/," Bull. de l'I.F.A.N., /1948/, p. 450.

were mixed with the skeletons, which were found to a depth of 60 centimeters, the soil below, consisting solely of sand, being intact.

In all, about 20 skulls practically in good condition and about ten in bad condition, including one of a child, and hundreds of bones were brought back for study by the Section d'Anthropologie of the I.F.A.N. /Fig. 2 appears here./ [128]

There is no doubt about the meaning of this discovery. We are dealing with a baobab that served as a burial place for griots /musicians, storytellers/ in a recent past (3); the Baobab [565]

3. Probably until the effective Islamization of the peninsula due to the establishment of the theocratic Lébou community about 1795, although isolated cases could have occurred up to a about the founding of Dakar (1857). [175]

of Bok, moreover, is also known in the neighborhood by the name of "goui guevel" (Baobab for Griots).

It is likewise the name of goui guevel (shown, moreover, on the Yof sheet at 1/20,000, 1954) that designates another baobab (24.50 meters in circumference) located west of the village of Ouakam, which I visited April 6, 1955, without being able to get into it, the opening being too small (0.60 x 0.15 of a meter).

A small village bears the same name northeast of Ouayembam (Sangalkam sheet at 1/20,000, 1941). /74/ /Fig. 3 appears here./

The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, 000

15: Mauny--5 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32

/74 cont./

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Fig. 3. Burials in the country of the Jalophes (Wolofs) according to Dapper (1668). In the background one sees a griot who is being interred in a hollow tree.

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The interment of griots in hollow trees has, moreover, been reported in Senegal for a long time. It is always practiced in Sérère /Serer/ country; this custom does not seem to have been known outside the territory and seems to have been completely abandoned, for example, in Wolof country where it must have been practiced in former times (4). The case of the peninsula of

4. Dapper (1668) mentions it in the "pais des Jalofes /country of the Wolof/," but includes in this latter Sine, Baol, and Joal, Sérère countries (1686, p. 228).

Cape Verde is somewhat special, its populations having been in close contact with the Sérère, whose habitat begins just east of Bargny and even includes a good part of the region (Sébikotane, Pout, Thiès, etc. are in Sérère country).

To my knowledge the first to mention this funeral custom was Alvarez d'Almada (1594) who reports it in Saloum (5). The

5. Silveira, L., 1946, p. 25.

15: Mauny--6 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
Serer FA32
$ SR 766 565

explanation given was already the one that is advanced today: if the griots (Judeus) were buried in the depths of the earth, the fields would no longer produce.

Following the R. P. Alexis de Sainct Lô (1637, p. 88), Dapper (1668) relates the same belief and reports that the ostracism cast on the griots is applied even to their wives and their children and that they can neither be put in the earth nor thrown into the sea or a river (6). His account of the interment

6. Dapper, O., French translation 1686, p. 235.

of tambours in baobabs is illustrated by a drawing (Fig. 3). His account is taken up again by Barbot (1732) (7). The Chevalier

7. Barbot, J., 1732, p. 55.

de Fréminville relates to us the discovery of a baobab cemetery for griots near Hann in 1822 (8). Abbé Boilat (1853) and

8. Herpin, E., 1913, pp. 120-121, and 1955, p. 45; for a case noted at Dakar in 1873, see Th. Monod, 1949, p. 311, and J. Hachet, 1892, p. 38.

Carrère and Holle (1855) (9) recall briefly the same custom.

9. Boilat, Abbé P. D., 1853, p. 315; Carrère, F., and Holle, P., p. 68.

Nearer to us, Diguy Kanté, Valtaud, and Aujas report it in Sérère country (10).

10. Kanté, Diguy, 1917, p. 156; Valtaud, 1922, p. 251; Aujas, L., p. 321.

15: Mauny--7 E-5 (1955) 1955 MS37 Senegal MS37
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/74 cont./

An unpublished source of information is furnished us by the notebooks of vacation homework of pupils of the William-Ponty School, written in 1945, which had as subject "the funeral rites" (11).

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11. Let us cite, among others, the studies of MM. Diouf Khar N'Dofène, NDao Ibrahima, Diop Boubacar, N'Diaye N'Diaga, Diop Biram. These notebooks are kept in the Section de Documentation of the I.F.A.N. at Dakar.

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[127]

From these studies several facts stand out from the others:

a) This custom is practiced today only in animist Sérère country.

b) It is tending to disappear because of new ideas (flight of the griots to the cities, where they melt into the masses; hygiene; equalitarianism /75/ preached by Islam, Christianity, schools, etc.

c) The griots of our day are buried with the other "people of caste" (blacksmiths, shoemakers, weavers) in a cemetery near, but different from the one for the noble classes of the society.

This is how, according to these notebooks, a griot interment takes place in animist Sérère country.

The griot in Sérère country, as in a large part of Black Africa, occupies the bottom of the social ladder. An inferior, scorned, and feared being, it is not appropriate for him to be buried; the soil of the land where he would rest "would be rendered sterile forever or at least its yield would diminish from year to year."

After his death one proceeds with his funeral toilet, which is the same as for the other castes: the dead man is clothed in his finest garments, then wrapped in a pagne /Fr., a long strip of cloth/, and then "fastened with palmyra leaves in such a way as to form a solid package."

He is then laid out on a litter and carried to the baobab-cemetery by two strong young men, accompanied by the crowd of griots of the village, men and women.

/75 cont./

The hollow baobab chosen has an opening obstructed by brambles to keep out hyenas and jackals.

When the procession arrives in front of the baobab, the young men rush and jostle one another to be the first to enter the tree. They are armed and engage in a savage struggle with this aim, spurred on by the cries of the women, who appeal to their bravery and sing their praises.

Finally, one of them succeeds; henceforth he will do his utmost, with the help of his weapons, to prevent the others from entering in their turn. The candidates fight from the outside with the winner on the inside. The combat stops only when a second fighter has conquered the winner; then both bring the corpse into the tree amidst the applause and songs of those present. They lay the dead man on the pile of previous corpses without other ceremony. The two winners are regarded as heroes by the girls, while the other young men beaten in the course of this struggle "have lost their honor and degraded their families," cruel shame in Senegal; they will find it difficult to marry...

This custom from other ages is obviously destined to disappear rapidly in the face of the evolution of customs; the land already lost (Lébou country, part of the Wolof and even Sérère country) allows it to be clearly foreseen, although the interested persons themselves, the Sérère griots, continue to practice it in many places in Sine-Saloum and Baol.

Therefore it was necessary to describe it in a little more detail than the previous authors have done, before it is no more than a memory.

By a fair reversal of things, it is provocative to note concerning the Bok discovery that the skeletons of the most despised caste have been almost perfectly preserved in these very special conditions of inhumation in a baobab, while absolutely nothing of the bones of the great of the country, the guers, remains after perhaps less than a century; the Senegalese sand, moistened by the winter rains, reduces them to impalpable dust or bony splinters which do not withstand being touched (12).

12. Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., and Charbonnier, J., op. cit., 1948, p. 442.

/17 cont./ 369* 563 162 [167]

-- persons originally from French Guinea: Malinké (3%), Peul, Soussou, Kissi;

-- persons from the Ivory Coast: Agni, Appollonien, Attié, Baoulé /Baule/, Bété /Betie/, Dida, Krou, Wobé;

-- persons originally from the Togo-Dahomey zone: Aizo, Ewe, Fon, Goun /Gun/, Nago, Popo, Mina;

-- persons originally from the Upper Volta-Niger zone: Mossi, Sonray;

-- miscellaneous: Moors (3%), Cape Verdeans (2%), Yoruba, Boulama, Congolese, etc.

Those for whom we have indicated no percentage are for the most part of little importance numerically in relation to the total population. Their situation, however, is very variable: the consequences of uprooting, the degree of cohesion which preserves small groups very far from their region of origin, the degree of integration in the urban society, vary according to the level at which they are located in the new social stratification which takes shape in the towns.

3. Indeed, another feature of the sociology of colonial towns -- and which is, as we mentioned above, very conspicuous in the "old towns" -- is the progressive differentiation into strata definable by socio-occupational criteria. It assumes, as the investigation on Dakar showed, a /18/ greater and greater importance in the stabilized population; there, the domains where behavior continues to be determined by the ethnic, religious, etc. situation are limited. We posed the problem in this manner in a recent article, to which we allow ourselves to refer (1): "It appears ... that our categories only 369* 565

1. P. Mercier, "Un essai d'enquête par questionnaires dans la ville de Dakar /An attempt at investigation by questionnaires in the town of Dakar/" (Paper given at the conference on the Consequences of Industrialization [113]

17: Mercier--15 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/18 cont./

and Urbanization in Africa, Abidjan, 1954). 369x 565● [113]

tendentially have the character of social classes. They are distinguished by the living standard and way of life and by a certain number of specific behaviors, but the characteristics of colonial society, on the one hand, and, on the other, the persistence of traditional values do not permit them to assume the character of clear-cut classes." We shall return to this account, where we noted the absence of close correlations between socio-occupational category, ethnic group, and religion, but, on the other hand, the existence of very clear correlations between the socio-occupational categories and facts such as level of French studies, the importance of intermarriages between different ethnic groups, that of the role played by the groupings and associations of a new type (political parties, syndicates, etc.). Also the ethnic affiliation plays a role of variable importance, although it is very rarely obliterated completely. [182]

4. The new structures which characterize the towns give a large place to grouping of a political, syndical, cultural, sportive, etc. order. We shall not discuss this problem here. It must be noted, however, that in Dakar the importance of some of them is considerably reinforced by the function that Dakar performs as the federal capital; it is valid for the syndicates and to a lesser degree for the political parties. 369x 571

5. Finally, an important fact in every colonial town, but particularly in Dakar is the juxtaposition of racially and culturally different groups. For Dakar, the European population undoubtedly represents 10% of the total population (2), and 369x 563 162

2. In the census of the non-autochthonous population of 1951, close to 22,000.

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which [161]
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu-
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied [463]
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech-
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population,
has seen a division /19/into classes inherited from the society [565]
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this. [362]

north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/23 cont./ 369x 592

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]

/24 cont./

17: Mercier-124 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37

Dakar

Socio-occupational Category	Number of Households	Number of persons not belonging to the restricted family (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	+5
Farmers, fishermen	23	47%	26%	13%	4%		2%	2%
Laborers, domestics	124	35%	37%	12%	8%	4%	0.5%	0.5%
Workers and artisans	290	38%	29%	14%	6%	3%	3%	2%
Master workmen	21	23%	23%	42%		10%		
Subordinate employees and functionaries	265	42%	33%	13%	4%	3%	3%	2%
Superior employees and functionaries	39	46%	43%	7%		2%		
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	48	46%	35%	14%	4%			1%
Merchants, transport, etc.	122	38%	36%	13%	7%	2%	1%	1%

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/24 cont./

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b) These simplified data call for some commentary. What is the significance of the sometimes important differences that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata?

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here. [241]

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [177] [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures. [357]

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

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/25 cont./

strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups:

On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille étendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases. [596]

On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family. [594]

Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The [177]

/26 cont./

intermediate character of this category, very mixed concerning the level of studies, way of life, etc., is found again in various domains. 369x 565●

C. -- The old familial institutions do not always adapt themselves easily to the environment of the new life into which they are transplanted. They were linked with a collective work organization, all the members of the group being assured of enjoying (under the authority of the family head) the revenue of the latter. The notion of individual work, with individual remuneration, has not been introduced without shock. We shall set aside the categories where the work has remained in the family framework despite the necessary transpositions: farmers and fishermen on the one hand, merchants on the other. In the others, the vigor preserved by the traditional familial institutions is sometimes a curb on the raising of the living standard of urbanized elements. There is the problem, commonly called "familial parasitism," which poses itself in all of the African towns; the obligation to come to the aid of all the members of the kinship group is still strongly felt. We shall not proceed here to a detailed examination of the data gathered on the number of salaried persons, and persons practicing a non-salaried occupation, in relation to the total number of adults in the household. But it is necessary to give a survey of them. 369x 59 [476] [461] [602]

1. When questioned about the reasons for their coming to town, less than 10% of those questioned say that they came to rejoin relatives. But subsequent interviews have permitted it to be confirmed that among those persons who had come, according to their statements, to look for work (58%), there were many who would not have been able to subsist except by joining, upon their arrival, a group of relatives already settled. The process has already been described several times, and we shall not return to it (1). 369x 602 166.

1. Cf., for example, G. Balandier, op. cit., one of the latest accounts to date.

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= Dakar

/27 cont./

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[434]

> living standards made apparent the complexity of the notion of income; for example, there are incomes which do not correspond to any work, but come solely from a given social position (belonging to the griot caste, etc.). A similar investigation will be conducted in Dakar in August 1954 and will permit precise statements concerning these problems.

data only represent a snapshot taken on a certain date; the situation is very changeable, the dependent relatives, except when it is a matter of old men, are such only temporarily. Furthermore, the manifestations of familial mutual aid may go beyond the framework of the household. Let us take, in the whole of our population, the family groups containing more than five adults. The number of persons enjoying an income, reported for one adult, comes to between 0.5 and 0.7. One does not ascertain significant differences between categories on the quantitative level, the scale of situations in each one of them being very broad. Qualitatively, however, important differences appear. In the categories of superior functionaries and employees, members of the teaching profession and the intellectual professions, etc., and to a lesser degree among the subordinate functionaries and employees, women practicing petty commerce or similar activities are much less numerous than in other categories (but the number of women in a salaried occupation is higher). On the other hand, among the dependent adults (2), the adult sons and

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2. In our investigations, we have arbitrarily fixed the lower limit for the "adult" category at 18-20 years of age.

/27 cont./
daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered.

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1),

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material

2. It is obviously limited by the

17: Mercier--31 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
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/28 cont./

demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

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position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

[162]

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

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employees and 15% of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc.

those concerning the extent of the family.

/29/ E. -- In the same general sense, the variations in the percentage of interethnic marriages are according to socio-occupational categories. For the whole of our population, we find: among the monogamous (696 families), 71% ménages where the wife is of the same ethnic group as the husband, 29% where she is from a different ethnic group; among the polygamous with two and three wives (228 families), 43% ménages where all the wives are of the same ethnic group as the husband, 57% ménages where at least one wife is from a different ethnic group. The following tables give the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

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(tables on following pages)

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Socio-occupational Category	Number of monogamous restricted families	Wives of the same ethnic group as their husband		Wives from a group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	16	14	87%	2	13%
Laborers, domestics	81	68	84%	13	16%
Workers and artisans	214	152	71%	62	29%
Master workmen	11	5	45%	6	55%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	208	136	65%	72	35%
Superior functionaries and employees	29	19	64%	10	36%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	47	28	59%	19	41%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	47	65	84%	12	16%

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Socio-occupational Category	Number of polygamous restricted families (2 and 3 wives)	All the wives of same ethnic group as the husband		At least one wife from an ethnic group different from that of the husband	
		T	%	T	%
Farmers, fishermen	7	3	43%	4	57%
Laborers, domestics	14	7	50%	7	50%
Workers and artisans	75	36	48%	39	52%
Master workmen	10	3	30%	7	70%
Subordinate functionaries and employees	57	25	44%	32	66%
Superior functionaries and employees	10	2	20%	8	30%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	5	2	40%	3	60%
Merchants, transporters, etc.	45	19	42%	26	58%

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1. The first table is more significant. In fact, the number of polygamous families is too low in absolute value in certain categories for one not to fear distortion, in the conditions under which the investigation was made. In any case, the fact that the only wife (or the first wife of potential polygamists) is from an ethnic group different from that of their husband is more important than when it is a matter of a second or third wife of a polygamist. 369 565 563

2. As far as the monogamists are concerned, the categories of farmers, laborers, and merchants are clearly below the average (29%). The workers and artisans reach this average exactly. They likewise form among the polygamists a rather clear grouping, characterized by the preservation of ethnic values. One problem is posed here, however: the master workmen, contrary to what we have previously ascertained, do not fit into this group. We lack factors for an explanation of this seemingly aberrant fact. Subsequent investigations will try to illuminate it.

3. The categories of the subordinate functionaries and employees more clearly approximates here those of the superior functionaries and employees, of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. In this whole, the ethnic values, and this is confirmed by other investigations, tend to play a less important role; they are far, however, from complete obliteration (1).

1. See below some notes on the composition of groups of friends.

4. It would be necessary, however, to shade this account by studying the prevalent behaviors in the different ethnic groups (2). One finds that the situation varies in terms of: 369 563

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2. It is necessary to take into account the fact that the ethnic groups, except for the most important numerically, are not

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regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

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F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

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a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

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combined two by two. Out of 32 male heads of families, eight had no friends in the neighborhood (block and its immediate surroundings -- the relatives obviously being excluded). Among the 24 others, one counted 15 whose friends in the neighborhood were at the same time all members of the same ethnic group; for five others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same syndicate;[1] for two others, they were either of the same ethnic group or members of the same religious association. Only the two heads of Lebou families, the ones settled in the block the longest and enjoying a certain prestige, had many friends in the neighborhood; the majority of the latter did not belong to the Lebou group and were not members of a like structured group. The factor of neighborhood, properly speaking, seemed, for our people as a whole, to account for only the most superficial type of relations. The common religious persuasion does not /38/ play an essential role; its limits rarely coincide with the limits of groups of friends. The religious associations, however, are practically the only ones which rest, in a certain number of cases, on a local basis. The importance of occupational ties (in the broad sense, including syndical activity) and, above all, that of ethnic ties are of primary importance.

B. -- In this domain, however, differences in behavior between the socio-occupational categories are seen to appear, and it is important to note them in order to complete the preceding data. One sees some distinctions delineated which, as a whole, go in the same direction as those encountered in the second part of this work. In our population investigated by questionnaires, one finds: 13% of those queried who have less than 10% of their connections belonging to the same ethnic group as themselves; 29% who have less than 30%; 57% who have less than 50%; 11% who have 100%. The following table indicates the distribution by socio-occupational categories:

[1] [i.e., trade union.--Analyst]

/38 cont./

Socio-occupational Category	Percentage of connections belonging to the same ethnic group			
	Less than 10%	Less than 30%	Less than 50%	100%
Farmers, fishermen	11%	26%	50%	7%
Laborers, domestics	7%	19%	41%	21%
Workers and artisans	13%	33%	64%	10%
Subordinate employees and functionaries	14%	33%	60%	11%
Superior employees and functionaries	17%	34%	61%	7%
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	26%	40%	72%	6%
Merchants, transporters, etc.,	6%	17%	41%	17%

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We thus find a first group where the role played by ethnic membership in the formation of the group of friends is more important than it is on the average: the laborers and domestics, the merchants and transporters. The opposite situation is found among the superior functionaries and employees and even more accentuated, among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions. The farmers are to be added to this group, however; most of them are Lebou, and these figures account well on the one hand for the loss of their particularism before the Wolof thrust, and on the other hand for the more /39/important role played among them by the factors of neighborhood. An average group is constituted by: the subordinate functionaries and employees, and, much more clearly than in the other domains considered, the workers and artisans.

Some remarks are necessary. The factor of ethnic regrouping retains its importance in all the categories, although unequally.

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369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
[182] order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
[466] are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free men, descendants of chiefs' families... Operatives coming from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their skill at the work and their training, would have only very weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between individuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same ethnic category or the same religion.

369 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
563 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
573 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale. Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for "folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members, become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

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369 177 563 [584] [593] [182] families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/ urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 ●565 178 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger, on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is already being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid [177] [467] [474] diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed [468] railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 563 578 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 161 A much more important problem that seems general in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have [162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.